

JPRS 79118

2 October 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1923

FBIS

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.


Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.



2 October 1981

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1923

CONTENTS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA**Briefs**

WFTU Document Drafted in Prague	1
Soviet Awarded T.U. Decoration	1

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Events of Berlin Wall Construction Related (DER KAEMPFER, Aug 81).....	2
'Progressive,' 'Reactionary' Conception of Prussia Contrasted (IWE-TAGESDIENST, 3 Aug 81; DAS VOLK, various dates).....	6
West German Commentary GDR Focus on Prussia Socialist Premise for Historiography FRG Historians' 'Distortions'	

HUNGARY

Training at Military Institutes Described (NEPHADSEREG, 11 Jul 81).....	13
Youth Must Accept More Responsibility for Its Future (Istvan Koncz; NEPSZABADSZAG, 20 Aug 81).....	16

YUGOSLAVIA

Western Comment on Trial of Marko Veselica (Christine von Kohl; DIE PRESSE, 11 Sep 81).....	21
--	----

Actions on Behalf of Serbian Priest Criticized (Editorial; OSLOBODJENJE, 28 Aug 81).....	23
'Islamic Nationalism' of Imam Denounced (OSLOBODJENJE, 28 Aug 81).....	27
Concern Voiced Over Refusal To Disclose Information (D. Nikolic; BORBA, 6 Sep 81).....	29
Bosnian Official Polemicizes With Belgrade Paper (OSLOBODJENJE, 21 Aug 81).....	30

BRIEFS

WFTU DOCUMENT DRAFTED IN PRAGUE--An editorial group of representatives from 21 national trade union centers, international trade union associations and CSSR's Central Trade Union Council (URO) met in Prague on 7 September to draft the main document "Trade Unions and Problems of the 80's", which will be presented at the Tenth World Trade Union Congress in Havana next February. Leading the discussion was Chairman of World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) Sandor Gaspar, assisted by WFTU Deputy Chairman and URO Chairman K. Hoffman, and WFTU Acting Secretary General Ibrahim Zakaria. [Prague PRACE in Czech 8 Sep 81 p 1]

SOVIET AWARDED T.U. DECORATION--On 16 September the secretary of the USSR Embassy in Prague J.V. Medvedev received the Antonin Zapotocky commemorative medal from URO (Central Trade Union Council) Secretary V. Kozik. Secretary Medvedev is ending his tour of duty in the CSSR; the decoration represents appreciation for his personal contribution toward the development of cooperation between the Czechoslovak and Soviet trade unions. [Prague PRACE in Czech 17 Sep 81 p 3]

CSO: 2400/318

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

EVENTS OF BERLIN WALL CONSTRUCTION RELATED

East Berlin DER KAMPFER in German vol 25 no 8, Aug 81 p 1

[Article signed 'ot': "Twenty Years of Anti-Fascist Protective Wall"]

[Text] "Here are the combined stations of the German Democratic Radio Network." The voice of the newscaster came over the radio on the morning of August 13th with the same calm matter-of factness as ever. "In order to put a halt to the hostile activities of the revanchist and militaristic forces of West Germany and West Berlin, a control system has been introduced on the border of the GDR, as is the practice on the borders of every sovereign state." He was reading the resolution of the GDR Council of Ministers concerning the measures taken for the security of its borders with West Berlin and the German Federal Republic and, following this, a declaration by the states signatory to the Warsaw Pact.

In Mid-Summer 1961

It was clear for all to see, that the aggressive preparations of the West German imperialists and militarists aimed at the GDR were pressing toward their final stages. The Bundeswehr and other strong NATO forces had taken up their final assault positions close to our borders; West Berlin was in readiness as the fuse. The organizers of this adventure, including the rightist SPD and trade union leadership, by their plans to destroy for once and for all the GDR that they so hated, were posing the most serious threat yet to the peace of Europe. They knew without any doubt that the GDR was firmly integrated into the Warsaw Pact and that the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community would act in accordance with their treaty obligations. Yet the imperialists fancied that they were the stronger. Besides that they were firmly convinced that they had taken all steps necessary to soften up the GDR for their assault. The ruling circles in Bonn and their NATO allies were absolutely sure of themselves. In anticipation of their success it was no accident that the West Berlin "Industriekurier" was already boasting of a "march of the Bundeswehr through the Brandenburg Gate with bands playing" and of a great victory parade down the boulevard Unter den Linden.

Then the Clock Struck 13!

On that night of August 12th lights were ablaze in every SED office in Berlin ... at midnight traffic on the elevated and subway systems was abruptly halted ... buzzers were sounding in the apartments of members of the Berlin workers' militia ... there

was a knocking at doors, telephones were ringing: Alarm! Comrade, to your post!

On that night tanks and artillery of the National People's Army took up their positions close to the sector boundaries facing West Berlin ... thousands of members of the militia of the working classes, together with their comrades from the People's Police and the Border Police formed a living protective wall ... the then Chancellor of West Germany, Konrad Adenauer, fetched rudely from his bed, replied in shock to the reporters of our border security measures, "That just can't be true!" ... the then chief of the West German intelligence services, Reinhard Gehlen, was in a rage because once again he knew nothing of what was going on ... a senior officer of the West Berlin police, gazing at the construction work being carried out by members of the militia, stammered in total consternation, "Are they really permitted to do that?"

On that night commuter traffic for all residents of Berlin's border regions had to be rerouted ... more than a hundred thousand border hoppers, who had sold themselves for a few marks to their class enemy but continued to live among us without qualms of conscience while taking full advantage of all our social programs, were turned back in dismay ... thousands of black marketeers, speculators, body snatchers and other low-life were tearing their hair in desperation because we had so thoroughly spoiled their "piece of the action" ... and the dream of the West German imperialists and militarists of a "Bundeswehr march through the Brandenburg Gate with bands playing" had faded away forever.

When daybreak came, the 25-mile long border between West Berlin and the capital of the GDR was closed. Without the enemy ever having had the least inkling, it was firmly secured and under tight control by the units of the National People's Army that had been alerted shortly before midnight, together with units of the workers' militia, the Border and People's Police, all supported by troops of the Soviet Army stationed in the GDR. The measures taken by our party and our government were, in all important respects, carried out in a disciplined and precise manner.

On That Morning

The citizens of the capital read with relief and satisfaction in the slightly earlier editions of the city's papers the declaration of the member states of the Warsaw Pact, in which it stated, "The governments of the Warsaw Pact states address themselves to the People's Chamber and to the government of the GDR, to all the working people of the German Democratic Republic, with the recommendation that a system be established at the West Berlin border, as well as around the region of West Berlin, including its borders with democratic Berlin, that will effectively block the subversive activities aimed at the countries of the socialist camp and that a reliable guard force and an effective border control be guaranteed."

On That Morning

A crew-cut teenager called out from the other side of the wall to a militiaman carrying a submachine gun slung over his shoulder, "What do you think you're doing with that queer looking instrument around your neck?" The militiaman replied with a grin, "You can play some sweet tunes for your Franz Josef Strauss on this thing. Didn't you know that this is a Dawai-guitar?"

With the measures of August 13th our party and our government underscored their determination to do everything necessary to safeguard the accomplishments of our socialist resolution and the peaceful life of our citizens and to show that they were serious in the resolve never again to allow a war to break out on German soil.

A Secret

was revealed by Comrade Walter Ulbricht at a reception of the party and state leadership, which took place on the fifth anniversary of that August 13th in conjunction with a mobilization rally of militia units and to which veteran members of the militia cadres were invited. Comrade Erich Honecker, member of the Central Governing Committee and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party, sought the floor in order to propose a toast. An attentive silence filled the hall. But before Comrade Honecker could begin, Comrade Walter Ulbricht, pointing to Comrade Honecker, said, amid the ringing applause of these present, "This man was our chief of staff on August 12th and 13th."

Today

it is apparent to everyone that the measures of August 13th were objectively necessary and historically correct. They have become a milestone in the history of our socialist fatherland. They made it clear that socialism had attained its ultimate victory in the GDR, that the country was strong and capable of defending itself. It was a victory for both socialism and for peace, just as it was a painful defeat for all the forces of imperialism. It gave lasting proof that the GDR will never be defeated, that this country is a very real force in the service of the peasants and workers, which can rely upon its strongest allies in the Soviet Union and in the socialist community.

At This Moment

imperialism is flaunting its ragged banner of anti-communism and its age-old lie of the "Danger from the East" more boldly than ever before. Arrogantly and blindly it is seeking to make one last venture at the last hour to turn back the wheel of history. With cold-blooded cynicism it is ready to thrust mankind into the inferno of a nuclear war that would annihilate everything. If only they were able! But those days have passed forever. In their place we see a balance of power on the side of progress, with the Soviet Union in the van, the strength and power of the peace-loving peoples of this earth, those who seek to live in peace and not to die in violence; there is no doubt that they are now in a position to force to the peace table those monsters in human form who once had planned to bomb Vietnam and even now the entire globe "back to the Stone Age."

The arms of the imperialists were too short, even at the time of the Great Socialist Revolution of October, to strangle socialism in its cradle. Even more so today. And it fills us with satisfaction that, under the confident leadership of our Marxist-Leninist party, we have been able to make our contribution through the measures of August 13th and through the constant and all-pervasive strengthening of our socialist German Democratic Republic.

We know full well the enormous danger posed by imperialism even in its ever more rapidly ripening final phase; we do not underestimate it by any means. The proof

of this is to be found in our struggle for the realization of the resolutions of the tenth party congress of the SED calling for a further strengthening of the GDR, in our constantly high state of revolutionary alertness and our combat-readiness, in our translation into action of the watchword -- "No quarter to the enemy!" And last but not least it is for us to make clear to younger generations what a heavy responsibility they bear as heirs to the victorious class struggle that took place on that August 13th.

9878

CSO: 2300/306

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

'PROGRESSIVE,' 'REACTIONARY' CONCEPTIONS OF PRUSSIA CONTRASTED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 114, 3 Aug 81 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "GDR Reservations About Prussia-Show in West Berlin." The article cited below is one of a series of three articles on the "'Prussia Wave' in the FRG" by Dr Siegfried Schmidt, history professor, Friedrich Schiller University, Jena, published in the Erfurt daily DAS VOLK. Translations of all three articles follow this commentary. For various references to items of related information see translations of East Berlin articles published under the heading, "Importance of National, Local Patriotism Explained," in JPRS 76749, 3 Nov 80, No 1823 of this series, pp 35-39]

[Text] With growing suspicion the GDR is evidently watching the "Prussia Wave" in the FRG. Jena historian Prof Dr Siegfried Schmidt (SED) has now announced political reservations about the FRG's "Prussia hubbub" and the big Prussia-Show about to open in West Berlin. In an article series he has alleged that the "Prussia Wave" in the West had "altogether unequivocally reactionary intentions," it being the first big rehabilitation attempt for Prussia since the end of the war. "Reactionary historians and journalists" in the FRG were trying to draw a rosy picture of Prussian history and "rid Prussia of the odium of fascism and militarism." The Jena professor attacked the Prussia-Show in West Berlin and the events going along with it primarily because "behind this hubbub" allegedly stood the political intention "to reappraise West Berlin by means of history and lend the Prussia Wave all-German nationalistic accents by including the GDR capital in the program, for example." (Erfurt DAS VOLK, 29 Jul 81)

GDR Focus on Prussia

Erfurt DAS VOLK in German 22 Jul 81 p 3

[First article of series on "'Prussia Wave' in the FRG" by Prof Siegfried Schmidt: "Not a Revival of Bourgeois Parochial History--Our Criterion for Any Type of Historical Research and Heritage Appropriation: What Was the Ancestors' Contribution to Social Progress?"]

[Text] Still this summer, a big show with the theme "Prussia--Attempt at a Balance-Sheet" will open in West Berlin, close to

the GDR's national border. That will mark the climax of a whole "Prussian Wave" in the FRG and West Berlin. Is it a coincidence or a political design that this is happening just at the same time that among citizens in our country, due to their growing interest in history, the myth and reality of Prussia also has become a topic of conversation? We asked comrade Prof Dr Siegfried Schmidt, historian, Friedrich Schiller University, Jena, to inform our readers about this and other matters on the subject of "Prussia."

Our adversary, engaged in a big attempt for circa 2 to 3 years at rehabilitating Prussia (more than two dozen books on Prussia were published in the FRG in 1980), would like to impute to us we are "reassessing" Prussia socialistically. Western media have come out with sensationalist headlines such as "Revision of the Image of Prussia," "Comrade Frederick II" (ZDF), or "Prussia's Gloria the Socialist Way" (Deutschlandfunk). There is no truth in any of that. It makes no sense to look for any opportunistic conception of Prussian history, or any other history for that matter, among us because our point of departure in all matters concerning Prussia and Prussian history differs totally from what is reflected by the "Prussian Wave" in the FRG—despite the simultaneity that has occurred.

Rooted in the Progressive Traditions of All of German History

In our country, the socialist German nation is under development. That is a lengthy process which attaches special importance to the development of a socialist national consciousness. As we have to write a national history of the GDR, we also must provide unequivocal information on the historic roots and foundations of the GDR.

Our position of principle has been set down in the SED Program, as issued by the ninth party congress in 1976: "The GDR's socialist culture is committed to the rich heritage created throughout the whole history of the German people." A few comments on that.

The image of history of the socialist German nation embraces all of German society, starting with the genesis of the German people, and it includes territorially, up to the mid-1940's, all areas that were united in the German Empire or, before 1806, in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. This is a very important and inviolable element of the socialist German nation's sense of identity. This is a nation which is of a socialist nature and of German origin. The consequence of it: only from the lofty vantage point of triumphant socialism can all of German history make sense to us. I make a special point of this also because there has been no lack of attempts by bourgeois ideologues in the FRG grossly to misrepresent the GDR's attitude toward German history.

So they are disseminating the notion that in terms of national history the GDR is a neuter, without historical roots. Or they seek to confine the GDR historically. Karl Jaspers in 1960 tried to define the GDR as, more or less, "Prussian-Saxonian." And sure enough, a few years ago a book about the GDR was published, entitled "Half Prussia—Half Saxony." The political intent is obvious. The socialist state

is meant to be defamed as the successor of Prussia, or more precisely, of reactionary Prussianism. Yet the GDR is conceivable only as the outcome of all of German history. Its historic roots lie in the struggles by the progressive forces of the German people in their totality (including representatives of exploiter classes in certain phases of history) for social progress.

Territorial States Were Not Only Impediments

And then there is another point to be made. As the GDR is rooted in the progressive traditions of German history, we must account for the whole complexity of all achievements and traditions that have objectively contributed to social progress. But that also means that we must not only look at everything progressive from the vantage point of the centralized national state, as has often been done up to now. The German territorial states under feudalism and during the transition from feudalism to capitalism were not only impediments to the realization of social progress, but progress still prevailed even then, albeit in a deformed condition.

The increasing intrinsic weight of GDR history and the identification of the GDR citizens with the historic areas and landscapes in which they live and work make for the great and growing interest in the history of those regions. And there are objective reasons for it. Socialist society is especially interested in the history of those territories that compose the GDR region. That explains why we are more concerned with the history of Prussia, Saxony, Thuringia, the states of Mecklenburg and the territories of Anhalt, than with Baden, Bavaria or Hesse, for instance.

A Complex Dialectical Image of History

It is perfectly obvious: we seek no revival of bourgeois parochial history, which ultimately aimed only at the glorification of any given territorial princes. In terms of a complex, vital, that is, also dialectical image of history, we seek to get hold more intensively of the progressive traditions in the history of the territorial states, while focusing more strongly on, and differentiating in our evaluation of, that historic legacy that was marked by the intertwining of process with reaction. Thus the question has to be asked which essentially, and partly unintentionally, reactionary phenomena and personalities objectively still had positive effects. That would certainly apply to representatives of the ruling class, not least to feudal rulers like Frederick II, August the Strong, or Carl August of Saxony-Weimar.

These then are no manifestations of superficial "fashion," no political designs such as those of the FRG's "Prussian Wave," but a long-range task of GDR historians in their shaping a complex image of history.

Socialist Premise for Historiography

Erfurt DAS VOLK in German 25 Jul 81 p 3

[Second article of series on "'Prussia Wave' in the FRG" by Prof Siegfried Schmidt: "Without Any Magic Wand on the Way to the Factual Sources--On Prussia's Role in German History"]

[Text] The legend and reality of Prussia, historical research among us and historical distortions in the FRG, in this context, are the subject of an article series for us by Prof Dr Siegfried Schmidt, historian at the Friedrich Schiller University, Jena. In his first contribution (DAS VOLK, 22 July), under the headline, "Not a Revival of Bourgeois Parochial History," he presented the point of departure in socialist historiography and historical research with respect to the "Prussia Wave" in the FRG. The present contribution furnishes extensive answers, rich in facts, to questions by our readers about the role of Prussia in German history.

We are concerned with the progressive heritage of all German territorial states (thus not only of Prussia), especially those that composed the area of the GDR. Yet it would be inaccurate, were we to give the impression that the history of Prussia did not essentially differ from the history of Saxony or the history of the Thuringian principalities. It must be remembered that Prussia was a territorial state with a long medieval "prehistory" as the Electorate of Brandenburg, had more to do with the history and development of the German nation than any other German territorial state, and, especially in the 19th century, was a state of super-national character already before the German national state was founded in 1871. Included in Prussia were East and West Prussia, the Rhineland, the Lower Rhine (Mark and Kleve), Brandenburg, Pomerania, Silesia and--since 1815--the Province of Saxony.

That explains the special weight of the problems around Prussia. Our efforts at tapping the progressive traditions of Prussian history make it necessary for our interest to be concentrated on the transition from feudalism to capitalism, mainly on Prussian history since the end of the 17th century up to 1871. But I would like to make it perfectly plain that the gathering of progressive traditions will not cause us to ignore even for a moment our confrontation with reactionary Prussianism, because in Prussian history as in German history there were altogether two different class lines. For that reason we must oppose any attempt by bourgeois ideologists to uncouple Prussianism from imperialism and fascism.

Exposing Progressive Lines

The existence and effect of reactionary Prussianism must not prevent us from exposing the progressive lines in Prussian history. Included also the positive achievements of the exploiter class or of particular representatives of that class. But our procedure must not be subjective, of course. Anyone who studies the biography of Frederick II is likely to find him rather repugnant as a human being, in terms of our humanistic image of man (one may mention his profound misanthropy). Nor was Queen Louise, despite the ingrained legend, exactly a splendid figure but,

though rather attractive in looks, quite a mediocre lady who did not really understand her time. But let us not apply such criteria. Instead, we are interested in their objective contribution to social progress. We have to inquire into the use of the surplus product worked up by the exploited classes and strata in social progress (e.g., in shaping the infrastructure or developing the land and so forth). Thus we must look at the producing of a surplus product not merely under the aspect of exploitation. And we must also ask about the "historic mission" of exploiter classes, especially of the middle class in the rising phase of establishing the new social order.

Such criteria, naturally, are no magic wand either that would turn the expansion and deepening of the Marxist-Leninist image of history into an easy job for the historians who--the enemy alleges--were reappraising Prussian history for "reasons of a favorable market trend." All this calls for is scientific work, an accurate tapping of sources, the known ones and the ones not yet explored.

Questions About the Relationship Between Progress and Reaction

In all the questions about the relationship between progress and reaction in Prussian history the point has always been properly made that the history of Prussia was not only a history of the Hohenzollern Dynasty. To us, for an understanding of history in the socialist German nation, it mainly also was tied up with the great revolutionary traditions of the class struggles of 1848/49 (Berlin) together with the class battles of the workers class in Prussia since 1830, not last in Berlin.

Even so, Prussia is not conceivable as a state without the activities of the Hohenzollern who came to play an important role in the empire not until the 18th century when absolutism was coming fully into its own in Prussia. On the one hand we now find their accommodation to the bourgeois evolution, the transition from feudalism to capitalism and, on the other, the shoring up of their feudal class domination.

While being thus discriminating in looking at the historic role of absolutism, we yet make no allowances in viewing Prussia as an aggressive military state. Frederick II belongs in the reactionary line of German history. Yet it must also be clearly stated that Prussian militarism of the 18th century is not identical with the militarism marked by German imperialism in the 20th century.

After 1815, however, Prussia becomes the main base of reaction until 1848, and again afterwards. Official politics is determined by a gradual Prussianization of Germany. Yet we must not only look at the Prussianization line that was "crowned" in 1871. We also must look at the Prussian reforms after 1806 which were an essential step toward the bourgeois transformation in Germany (liberal aristocratic reformers, wars of liberation containing essential elements of the popular movement and the bourgeois reform movement and connected with names like Gneisenau, Stein and others). Principally since 1830 Prussia takes the lead in industrial development. From it grew the leading role of the Prussian bourgeoisie with vast implications for education (Wilhelm von Humboldt) and the promotion of science, for example. Finally one must refer to the unification of the Reich in 1871, which offers a most conspicuous example of the complicated dialectics of progress and reaction. Overcoming the fragmentation initially was an important step ahead. It stimulated a

rapid development of the capitalist mode of production and of the modern industrial proletariat. It offered the workers class a new foundation for forming on the national level. At the same time, however, reaction won by Prussianizing all of Germany.

We have started thoroughly coming to grips with all these traditions. But to say it once more: if we draw contradictory matters with discrimination, rich in contrasts and vividly, we never yet forget the legacy that belongs to the core of the whole tradition of the GDR, the legacy of the revolutionary workers movement and its struggles.

FRG Historians' 'Distortions'

Erfurt DAS VOLK in German 29 Jul 81 p 3

[Third and final article of series on "'Prussia Wave' in the FRG" by Prof Siegfried Schmidt: "How Window Dressers Present a History Picture"]

[Text] Prof Dr Siegfried Schmidt of Friedrich Schiller University, Jena, who has already in recent days (cf. DAS VOLK 22 and 25 July) answered some questions from readers about the legend and reality of Prussia, and about historical research in the GDR and historical distortion in the FRG, examines in this final article in the series today the backgrounds and intentions of the "Prussia Wave" in the FRG and West Berlin.

The "Prussia Wave" in the FRG has altogether unequivocally reactionary political intentions. This is the first big attempt at "rehabilitating" Prussia since the end of the war. Warning voices have been raised, to be sure, even from leftist bourgeois historians and journalists. But on the other hand, even in the extreme forms of manifestations it is hard to overlook parallels with painting the Nazi past in rosy colors, which is quite common in the FRG.

Hoping for "All-German" Accents

The design to make desires and imaginations of the present come true is also apparent in the big "show" West Berlin is holding this year. Along with many other things, theater performances and special exhibitions, there comes this big "show" in the immediate vicinity of the GDR's national border entitled, "Prussia--Attempt at a Balance Sheet." It is scheduled to open on 15 August. Behind this hubbub stands, principally, the intention to reappraise West Berlin by means of history and lend the Prussia Wave all-German nationalistic accents by including the GDR capital in the program.

Looking at publications and television programs in this field, divergencies become visible. There are various kinds of flexible interpretations of social history. Wehler, Buesch and others maintain critical distance from Prussia. Yet they still remain unbridgeably contrary to Marxist historians because, ultimately, the critical analysis of Prussian history by Wehler, Buesch and others also only serves to justify and legitimize the imperialist system by detaching it from the reactionary manifestations of Prussian history.

Reorchestration into "Peace Militarism"

And then there are historians who have somewhat of a critical view on some aspects of Prussian history. But then there also are reactionary historians and journalists at work in the FRG who draw a rosy picture of Prussian history and try to rid Prussia of the odium of fascism and militarism. Haffner, for example, writes in his book about Prussia that was already mentioned Prussia had not only merged with Germany in 1871, but the "long dying of the Prussian state" had begun in 1871. Then, according to Haffner, no historic line exists either between Prussia and Prussian-German imperialism. Others have echoed Haffner and somewhat modified his views.

The historian Christian Count von Krockow claims Prussian militarism has always been "peace militarism," even in the time before World War I, for instance. The glory of the Prussian army had been to be good for parades and march music but not for warfare. This risky trend is then extended into the thesis that Prussia had nothing in common with fascism, indeed was diametrically opposed to fascism.

Our Marxist view is not mechanically to identify fascism with Prussianism. But acrobatics in the art of interpretation would be needed indeed to "prove" Prussianism and fascism incompatible. That is what the historian von Krockow is trying to do, buttressing the supposed contrast between fascism and Prussia by making the point that of the big Nazi bosses and leaders of the SS only 17, i.e. 3.4 percent, had been Prussians.

What Corresponds With Our Picture of the World

Finally I would still like to call special attention to the attacks against our conception of Prussian history as against our historical image of the progressive line of tradition in German history as such.

In his interview with publisher Maxwell, Erich Honecker has clearly pointed out our attitude toward the legacy and tradition of Marx and Engels, Mehring, Liebknecht to this day. When new problems mature we shall continue to proceed from the basic principles in the Marxist-Leninist conception of history, which are controlled by the interests of the working classes and strata, mainly the working class. Our answer depends on the criterion of social progress, on the theory of classes and class struggle and the sequence of forms of society. They remain the foundation in our evaluation of the role of Prussia.

But every era asks new questions of history. After 1945 the priority was the struggle against fascism and imperialism and reactionary Prussianism. Today, under the aegis of the developed socialist society, new questions come up for discussion. We are getting the time and opportunity to deal with them because of the ongoing rapprochement among the classes and an important increase in knowledge. To quote from Erich Honecker's biography, "From My Life": "It conforms to our picture of the world to comprehend history in its objective, actual course, in all its dialectics."

TRAINING AT MILITARY INSTITUTES DESCRIBED

Budapest NEPHADSEREG (SUPPLEMENT) in Hungarian No 28, 11 Jul 81 p 1

[Article: "A Profession"]

[Text] In our country a career soldier of the armed forces is a political factor and a man of public life, in whose actions and example one sees and expects our party's policies represented and served. This respect and confidence manifested by the entire society lends weight to the career as a professional soldier, and broad based social appreciation to the ranks of officer and junior officer. To live up to and satisfy this respect and confidence is truly a manly task requiring a whole man.

The military colleges and junior officer training institutions of the Hungarian people's armed forces continuously provide training to youth suitable for the career of professional soldier, thus providing the replacements for the Hungarian people's armed forces.

The armed forces is waiting for, and invites the young people choosing their careers to join it!

Military Colleges

Favorable family and social environment of the young person, unquestionable political and moral reliability, no criminal record and an unblemished past are important requirements when applying to the military colleges. Military service is also physically taxing on the professional soldiers, therefore a military medical screening group evaluates the physical condition and endurance of the applicants. The basic conditions are that the young applicants have no organic ailments, have perfect sight and hearing, and have no physical handicaps. Being no older than 23 years of age and single are also among the application requirements.

The general requirements for application are made public each year by the Ministry of Defense in the form of competitions. Students of schools can receive the application documents from the principals of secondary schools, while young soldiers get them from the commanders of their service units. In addition to this, interested parties may request the documents from the personnel departments of the megye military recruitment and regional defense headquarters, and

in Budapest from the educational department of the Capital City Military Recruitment Headquarters. These organs will provide detailed information about applying, branches of service, circumstances of the training in the military training institutions, and the order of reporting for service.

The goal of the military colleges is to train officers who are faithful to the principles of socialism and communism; who profess a solid materialist ideology; who live according to the socialist moral standards; who profess as their own the goals our party and of our government; who know and love their vocation; and who, on the basis of their overall personality and training are able to organize and lead the training, activity and combatability of their subordinates.

The location of the Lajos Kossuth Military College is Szentendre. The college trains officers for assignments as subunit commanders in the people's armed forces and in the BM [Ministry of Interior] Border Patrol in the following disciplines: mechanized artillery, tank personnel, reconnaissance, rocketry and artillery, roadway technician, machine operator and above ground construction, BM border guard. Graduates will also receive civilian diplomas in the mechanized artillery, tank personnel, rocketry and artillery, group reconnaissance and border guard disciplines as general mechanical plant engineer; those studying in the mechanical discipline will get diplomas as road construction engineer, above ground construction engineer, or plant engineer.

The location of the Mate Zalka Military Technical College is Budapest. The college trains subunit commanders, technical and troop management officer specialists for the branches and specialized divisions of the people's armed forces. Commander training is conducted in the areas of: troop aerial defense rocketry and artillery, communications, and chemical defense. The graduates will also receive civilian industrial engineering diplomas in control technology or radiochemistry. Technical training is given in the areas of: domestic aerial defense rockets, locator technology, battle vehicle and motor vehicle technology, and general weaponry. The graduates will also receive civilian industrial engineering diplomas in traffic engineering, or in instrument and control technology. Economics and supply training is conducted in the disciplines of military feeding and military finance.

The location of the Gyorgy Kilian Aviation Technology College is Szolnok. The college trains aviation technology and fighter control and observation officers for the flying divisions of the people's armed forces. The airplane and helicopter designers also spend the first year of their studies here, after which their advanced training is conducted in the Soviet Union. The aviation technology training is conducted in the areas of: airframe and engine maintenance for airplanes, airframe and engine maintenance for helicopters, airborne radio technology equipment maintenance, airborne instrument technology equipment maintenance, airborne weapons technology equipment maintenance. Graduates will also receive civilian diplomas as elementary school Russian language teachers, mechanical engineers, and industrial engineers in control technology and communication technology.

The time for training is 4 years consisting of eight academic semesters, each semester containing 600 hours of training (for a total of 4,800 hours). The academic year begins on 1 September and ends on 15 July. During the time between the academic years the students receive 1 month of vacation.

Junior Officer Schools

One must be at least 17 years of age to apply. In addition to graduation from the eighth grade of elementary school which is the mandatory requirement, the armed forces also expects knowledge and practical experience to have been gained in vocational training institutions and in productive work.

The departments at the junior officer training school can be broken down into groups of commanding, technical and management, and supply. The commanding departments are: mechanized artillery, tank personnel, reconnaissance, rocketry and artillery, and defensive. The technical departments are: technician, motor vehicle technology, armored vehicle technology, communication technology, weaponry technology, aviation technology, and radio reconnaissance. The economics and supply departments are: feeding, clothing supply, transportation, quartering, health care, fuel, and business management.

The material taught at the junior officer schools includes all the political and military-professional knowledge in possession of which the graduate junior officers can confidently train, educate and direct their subordinates, and use the battle technology equipment entrusted to their care. During the course of the training the students receive broad based political knowledge. They receive methods and opportunities for active participation in public life and to practice it; to develop their talents and satisfy their spheres of interest.

A significant portion of the training is in specialized areas. Within the framework of this the students familiarize themselves with the modern combat procedures, and with the tasks related to leading and directing the enlisted men in their command; they also learn the jobs related to the operation, maintenance and repair of the battle equipment and the organization and supervision of the repair work.

The training time is 2 years, divided into two semesters for each academic year. The training runs from 1 September to 31 July in the first school year, and to 15 August in the second school year. At the end of the first school year--in August--the students get a 1-month vacation, while the second academic year ends with their graduation as junior officers.

8584

CSO: 2500/380

YOUTH MUST ACCEPT MORE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ITS FUTURE

Budapest NEPSZABADSZAG in Hungarian 20 Aug 81 p 5

[Article by Istvan Koncz: "Responsibility for Youth--Responsibility of Youth"]

[Text] Of all the key questions of socialist national unity, one of the most exciting is surely: how will the ranks of the rising generation be integrated into the national unity which is now becoming a socialist one; how will society's socialist characteristics be strengthened among the youth; to what extent will the future that is being built for and in behalf of them be built by them as well? Every fourth Hungarian citizen is a youth between 15 and 30 years of age, and 40 percent of the Hungarian workers are under 30. It is not possible to think in terms of "people" and "nation" without them. It is necessary and worthwhile to think and act not only about them and for them but together with them.

In a socialist society dedicated to the future of humanity, it is self-evident that the youth are to be given special care. Most recently this was pointed out by the declaration of the twelfth congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party in accordance with its uniform policy dating back many decades: "Care for the new generation and education of the youth are a concern for the entire society." And this care is guaranteed not only by our constitution but by the law on youth as well. And we do not just preach principles. They are verified by the actions of a whole range of state measures, party organizations, councils, social organizations, enterprises and institutions. Without exaggeration, and keeping in mind the deficiencies, we can state that much has changed even in the thinking of the public, our realistic judgement of the situation of the youth is mostly appropriate, and a feeling of responsibility toward youth permeates deeply the way the older and middle generations are thinking. Even not infrequent anxieties are turning rather into an anxious love.

With the experience of the party

But this is only one side of the mutual responsibility. The other side--namely, that "the youth are also responsible for themselves"--has been formulated in the report of the Central Committee at the 10th Congress of the Communist Youth League [KISZ], and it received emphasis and many-sided clarification in speeches and resolutions as well. Incidentally, it is especially encouraging that voice was given to the responsibility of youth by the youth themselves, [through] KISZ, which is not only a group of communist youth but represents all our youth.

It is true that the responsibility of youth is not a new thought, we have never thought otherwise. We are only talking about the fact that in recent years--appropriately and necessarily--we have put more emphasis on the responsibility of society. And though we have made real progress in this area, and favorable changes have occurred in the situation of our youth and in the judgment of society, on the other hand--not everywhere, but in many places, and not always, but often--the requirements of the responsibility of youth were only quite assumed and did not receive sufficient emphasis. But this was never superfluous; in the present circumstances it is especially important.

Today, social responsibility toward the youth requires us first of all to educate the youth for greater responsibility. Responsibility for themselves, for their future, for the people, and for socialism.

What is meant concretely by this connection, the two sides of this mutual responsibility, in the main questions concerning the youth?

Our party, [that is] the party members of the older and middle-aged generations, have the heavy obligation to transmit its political experience to the youth. But not even this can be treated as a one-sided responsibility. In a favorable political-social atmosphere it can be expected that the youth themselves will be responsive and receptive to these experiences and to truly learn from them and apply them in a creative way to today's new and changing circumstances--and even more so tomorrow. One reason for the negative features that can be found in certain circles of the youth is precisely the fact that their experience and responsibility have not always and not everywhere been sufficient.

Of course we are not thinking about the kind of endless sermons that start out "Verily in our times..." under the pretext of transmitting or receiving historical experiences. Exhortations and insults of this kind--on the basis which some people dispute the requirements of youth that can be realistically attained and their healthy impatience--will fall on deaf ears with no effect. In fact they have rather a opposite effect, and arouse feelings of opposition.

But no matter how ineffective this kind of talk and stiff obtuseness and distrust are in the face of the different, freer style of the youth who have grown up under socialism, the lack of interest shown in many youth groups toward the lessons of our past and toward our political education in general is even more uncalled for and harmful. The youth frequently say, "Don't teach us to death," and if in this way they are objecting to a patronizing manner of thinking, and not to education for independent responsibility, they are right. But to question education in general, including the necessity of political education--as many youth do, mostly influenced by some kind of fashionable nonconformity--is wholly unjustified. No one, old or young, can extract himself from the complex influences of education taken in its broadest sense; reality educates all of us; and young people of have the special advantage to creatively accept these influences with flexibility and curiosity about new things. But obviously few of them possess the actual life experience necessary to choose from among these influences.

With Political Maturity

We can only adjust confidently to present tasks, if we also understand the motive, and we can only prepare for the new things to be done in coming years though they cannot be foreseen in detail, if the youth thoroughly know the history of our people, including especially the lessons of the decades of the building of socialism.

Our youth can--and must--obtain political, intellectual, and moral inspiration from struggles and results of indisputable historical importance, from everything that we have successfully solved and which is recognized in the world not only by our friends but also by our enemies. And the youth must also learn from the mistakes as well, so that they will not commit the same errors that their predecessors did in travelling along the unbeaten path of Hungary's peculiar conditions.

And not incidentally: they must learn to discriminate between errors and steps that today, decades later, may have unfavorable consequences, but which were necessary in their time and appropriate, and worthy of pride. Among these latter, for example, we are thinking of certain rigid characteristics of the structure of our economy and production, some of which developed during the initial, intense period of socialist industrialization. We must admit these--we cannot do otherwise--and we can admit them with pride, because backward pre-war Hungary rose through them to become a socialist country with at least average development. We can admit this with a clear conscience, even though perhaps the most difficult--and most painful because of regrouping of the work force--task of today and coming years is perhaps the modernization of this structure of production.

Not only our teenagers but also those between 25 and 30 have no conscious and clear recollection of what the small-peasant agriculture and way of life were like or what a Hungarian village was like at the beginning of 1959. Or of what the housing situation was in the cities in 1960, before the period of the first 15-year housing-construction program. Or of when the scarcity in meat supply ended quietly, almost imperceptibly, or of when and how the flood of automobiles swelled from a few thousand to today's million.

Children of Our Time

Today's youth formulate their thoughts, feelings about life, questions, and doubts openly, freely, without fears or inhibitions. This is natural, since without exception they are the children of the most recent quarter-century. They know only this political climate; only this time, favorable and encouraging to every new influence, which is under a sky that is alternately sunny and sometimes cloudy, but essentially unchanging. They have not, cannot have, and should not have a conception based on personal experience of what kind of storm we had to weather and then start anew--a genocidal, tragic, situation, threatening the foundations of socialism--and what kinds of dark forces had to be defeated and what kinds of causes had to be eliminated. But they must have a clear knowledge of them indirectly, learned from their elders.

The youth, lacking experience from life--and also because of their impatience; an impatience justified in view of the errors, neglect, and backward steps, but an unrealistic one that does not always respect the limits of the possible--are most susceptible to and defenseless against bourgeois propaganda and attacks on socialism. These are without doubt more vehement than a few years ago and more

susceptible to and defenseless against bourgeois propaganda and attacks on socialism. These are without doubt more vehement than a few years ago and more subtle than anything before, which can be seen not only from enemy propaganda in [the] Hungarian [language] and not principally from attacks directed at Hungarian youth. To see through these unambiguous intentions and to arm ourselves with principles against that propaganda which ultimately serves the interests of imperialism are the common task of the youth and of everyone who is responsible for them: older people, family, school, KISZ, party organizations, and state and social organs.

We are also faced with a sea of worries and a situation that makes it difficult to start young people on their way to an independent life. But in order for them to deeply appreciate our own conditions, it is enough for the young people to look at the world around them, enough for them to think about the dangers that threaten peace and international detente, enough to see the uncertain lives and unemployment of the youth in capitalist countries or, keeping "within the family," to observe the experiences of certain other fraternal parties. Every problem concerning the youth can be solved within socialist conditions, only on this ground can they be really solved, and sooner or later, depending on possibilities, with their help and cooperation, we shall solve them. Only let the two most important conditions for it be guaranteed: peace and firm socialist power of the people [with] internal political stability, order and tranquillity. This is our dearest treasure, the vital interest of our entire society, including the youth. The youth must also accept responsibility for it, thinking maturely, independently, in an adult manner.

What kinds of worries are we referring to? Let us just mention the two most important. The most important condition for establishing a family is an independent home. It is true that the youth of the old Hungary could not even dream of the satisfying today's demand for housing quantity and quality, and most of the youth of the capitalist countries still cannot dream of that, except perhaps for certain strata in the economically most developed countries. We know that neither this nor the fact that our state, as it has always done for many decades, is continuing construction at the upper limit of productive capacity in the midst of present economic difficulties is any comfort for today's Hungarian youth who are waiting for housing. But to respect this [situation] and to show understanding for it is absolutely necessary and requires political maturity. The KISZ congress demonstrated the independent sense of responsibility in our youth when it urged a more intense unleashing of youth's own efforts and, to this end, an improvement in economic and organizational conditions and exposure of the great deficiencies in the management of housing market, instead of working like firemen to solve petty problems.

For Their Own Future

Much is being said nowadays about helping the youth become integrated into the workplace—or to generally integrate them into the working lifestyle. Every supervisor, every recipient collective, and everyone who directs instruction or management of the work force has a political responsibility for this. But this is just one side of the question; it would be a mistake to emphasize it one-sidedly. Let the youth themselves feel a responsibility for themselves and make efforts to integrate themselves, adapt to the realistic requirements of the

workplace and the national economy. We have often heard it said that youth everywhere should be given meaningful tasks. But it is just as important for the youth to seek the tasks, to undertake difficult tasks as well, and to put forth rational initiatives and recommendations. By fulfilling their duties--work, study, defense of the homeland--at the best possible level, they will be acting not in the interest of others, not for their fathers' and grandfathers' generation, but most of all in their own interest; they owe themselves this sense of responsibility.

Today's Hungary is a young Hungary. Not in terms of its composition by age, but first of all in the historical, social, and political sense of the word. It is young because here is the society of the future, a developed socialism is being built. Last but not least, this future will be whatever kind the youth make it for themselves--and for their future children, grandchildren, and generations after them. Our youth are entrusted with responsibility for this future.

9611

CSO: 2500/359

WESTERN COMMENT ON TRIAL OF MARKO VESELICA

Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 11 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Christine von Kohl: "Extreme Harshness Against Dissidents--Different Style Governs in Croatia"]

[Text] The last in a series of political trials of critical intellectuals in Croatia which had begun this spring ended with a draconian sentence this week. The former university lecturer in economics Marko Veselica was sentenced to serve 11 years in a penitentiary. Nobody had expected that harsh a sentence.

The sentence corresponds to the average sentence being meted out these days against young people of Albanian origin in Kosovo. The indictments against these charge that they violently rebelled against the state and social order, erected barricades in the streets, pelted cars with rocks, wrote counterrevolutionary slogans on walls, forced citizens to participate in demonstrations and the like.

Marko Veselica, on the other hand, had never used any means other than the spoken and written word. He was indicted here because of an interview which, it was charged, he had given to the weekly magazine DER SPIEGEL. The fact that it appeared not there, but in various publications of the emigre press, did not cause the prosecution to become interested in the "German journalist" Hans Bornemann who had told Veselica that he was a SPIEGEL correspondent. The fact that the indictment did not raise any question about this aroused the suspicion that it might know better than Marko Veselica who the person was.

The interview whose extracts constitute the nucleus of the indictment of Veselica in fact does not make pleasant reading for the politicians in charge in Yugoslavia. Nor will all other readers agree with him on all points. However, Veselica is charged with "preparing inimical activity in connection with anti-Yugoslav circles abroad with a view to inimical activity and stirring up hatred between the peoples of Yugoslavia." Without ado, the public prosecutor identified Marko Veselica with the terrorist actions of the anticommunist emigre organizations, liberally connecting events in Lebanon, [Northern] Ireland and Kosovo--all in relation to the defendant.

The defense rightly drew attention to the fact that in the interview--and in his utterances in general--Veselica explicitly dissociated himself from any violence, from any terrorism and from the extremist emigre circles, who he thinks are only creating further mischief. It was pointed out that beside the very harsh criticism

of many phenomena of the sociopolitical and economic system and everyday life in Yugoslavia, the politically constructive elements of the interview clearly predominate. Veselica does not want to change the system but wants the constitution to be followed. He does not want a revolt of any kind but demands a free dialogue between those in power and the rest.

But above all the defense took apart completely the so-called evidence, including statements by witnesses, of the prosecution of Veselica's contacts with the extremist emigration. Three elderly women, who in line with their statements in the preliminary investigation were produced as witnesses for the prosecution, turned out to be witnesses against it. The principal witness was a seriously ill woman whose evidence appeared to be unreliable in every respect. When confronted with the defendant, who she claimed had given her "illegal" material to take abroad, she burst into tears and had to be placed under medical care when Veselica told her that she was lying.

In such political trials it is customary for there not to be even a semblance of any influence by the court on the extent of the punishment. Only outwardly does such a trial proceed correctly. In the case of Veselica, for example, the defendant was allowed to go on talking for 4 1/2 hours--a torture for the entire audience.

Croatians, Serbs and foreign observers agree that trials such as those against Tudjman, the author Gotovac and former high party official Veselica could hardly be imagined in Serbia these days. In Croatia evidently a different style governs these days--one that is expressed also in relations with the Catholic Church. It remains to be seen why the Croatian leadership considers this style, which is arousing violent criticism at home and abroad--as well as the creating of martyrs--proper and useful.

Aside from the political and legal aspect, the case of Veselica also has a human one. Like Gotovac, Veselica reported in detail about the incredible conditions in the Croatian penitentiaries and the arbitrary actions to which political prisoners are exposed. It does not require much imagination to assume that these are hardly likely to face any better treatment when they have to start serving sentences these days.

8790
CSO: 2300/333

ACTIONS ON BEHALF OF SERBIAN PRIEST CRITICIZED

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 28 Aug 81 p 3

[Editorial: "Lawyers Representing Benightedness"]

[Text] Something absurd has happened these past few days, something which at first would seem to concern only SVIJET, but which in essence is not something that concerns us alone. SVIJET, there it is, has been taken to court. We had something to say about this in our last issue, and perhaps that would have been the end of it if the suit against us had been filed by anyone other than Nedjo Janjic, former Orthodox priest in Borike, near Rogatica, organizer of the nationalistic feast which is already well known and has been described in the press. It is true that for all the things that happened at that time the priest is now in jail in Zenica, but his attorney is still busy (nor is he alone).

So, we have been taken to court by a person convicted of nationalistic behavior because we stated in our paper what had also been written in the indictment and what ultimately landed him behind bars. The formal pretext for the suit, we have learned, is that our newspaper was unwilling to publish a "correction" to the little sketch we published entitled "The Orthodox Priest and the Lawyer." Actually what we were unwilling to publish was an ill-composed letter of sorts which called the truth a lie without offering a single supporting argument (in any case why should we concern ourselves once again with proving what the court has incontestably established) but containing the threat that we would be taken to court if we refused to publish it.

So, we have actually been taken to court!?*

Since a suit is a suit and is to be taken seriously, we are forced once again to say a few words about Nedjo Janjic and the dance around him which is being led and encouraged on the one hand by extremist members of the Chetnik-Fascist emigre community and on the other by certain clerical nationalists here in the country, and yet again, unfortunately, by certain of our "native" journalists, and finally by some of Janjic's relatives. All this, of course, is fairly well synchronized and done on behalf of some sort of "justice" for those "innocent people languishing in prisons."

* The next issue of SVIJET will carry the editors' statement composed as a response to the suit.

"Harmless" Songs

And what actually did happen in the parish house at Borike on 23 September 1980?

After the religious service of christening Janjic's child, the relatives sat down at the dining table together with their friends and those of like mind to "celebrate" this event. But the party took a particular turn and became nothing other than an unrestrained chauvinistic outburst complete with curses, yelling, and pistol shots. It is of interest to mention at this point that one of our "distinguished" journalists wrote in a letter to the editors of SVLJET that this was nothing more than a small family gathering in someone's house where, they did do some singing, the way one does for the pleasure of it, and how now, my lord, some great scandal has been trumped up out of it.

The participants in this "nice family gathering" at Janjic's house also included Milomir Asonja, a hostelry worker of Rogatica, Momcilo Janjic, a merchant from Ilijas, and Vojo Neskovic, a teacher from Borike. Those "harmless" songs which, it was proven in the trial, were struck up mainly by Nedjo Janjic, who competed with his fellows, were songs well known to our nationalities all over Yugoslavia from the blackest times we remember: "In the middle of Foca I looked around and who did I see but a hodja at the trough with a boar.... He kept on nibbling the boar and biting him, and elbowing him away." It is not certain who began it, but it is quite certain that all joined in the song "Romanija, Leaf Out Early, So That We Can Herd Catholic Girls on Your Slopes." The song "Isn't It Heavy on You, Desimir, That Fur Hat That Weighs Three Kilograms" recalled a Chetnik cut-throat well known in those parts. It is not difficult to recognize in the lines "Shall we build a church for young people in Kaljina" the obvious intention, since it is well known that Kaljina is a village inhabited mostly by Moslems. Finally, it is really difficult to keep from being sick at the very mention of the verse "There is no Moslem now in Foca, the water of the Drina carried him off ...," with which the Chetnik butchers "spiced" every one of their bloody feasts along and down the Drina near Foca.

The Epilogue Is Well Known

What is one to call all this, then, if not an urging of the Chetnik spirit and fratricide? The court has made its pronouncement. And, incidentally, it also seems as if the people of Borike and nearby towns on Romanija have also stated their opinion.

In all of this Janjic has among other things abused in the most arrogant way the confidence of the people who had given him a wonderful welcome in their region. Instead of displaying the nobility of a priest, he attacked one of the greatest achievements of the National Liberation War and socialist revolution, the fraternity and unity of our nationalities and ethnic minorities. With his comrades of like mind, through songs, he recalled those raving "mutterings" with which the Chetniks, with blood on their hands, would accompany their marches. Is one, then, to believe Janjic when he says in the court that "at that moment I did not realize the spirit and meaning of all that," since the singing was done in a state of "loss of self-control and thoughtlessness." What the people think of all this is sufficiently indicated by the words of one individual, a church

member, who said in a meeting of the local chapter of the Socialist Alliance: "Songs as horrible as that did not come from the head of someone who is drunk, but represent a deliberate act."

The epilogue is well known. The court established beyond question that these and other songs with which Janjic's house reverberated are because of their content profoundly offensive to all honest citizens, that they provoke and irritate members of all our nationalities, and that they were calculated to arouse ethnic and religious enmity and disunity among Serbs, Croats and Moslems. With their singing their obvious purpose was to arouse a pro-Chetnik disposition within the hearing of a large number of persons, to call up the ghost of the past, and to glorify the "courage" of the degenerates of the Serbian people.

What happened has been categorized as the crime of arousing ethnic and religious enmity and discord under Article 134, Paragraph 3, and related to Paragraph 1 of the SFRY Criminal Code.

This activity motivated by chauvinism, Serbian hegemony and the Chetnik spirit was punished: Janjic was sentenced to 6 years in jail and Asonja, M. Janjic and Neskovic received 4-year sentences. In ruling on the appeal the court in the second instance reduced Nedjo Janjic's sentence from 6 to 4 years in prison. In so doing it was thinking primarily of Nedjo Janjic's age.

The Manufacturing of an Incident

When the convicted persons went off to serve their sentence, a clever campaign began whose organizers, already mentioned above, tried, as they are still trying, to proclaim that Janjic is innocent, saying that he was "convicted because he sang songs," and they appealed to the freedom of religious profession. Within Yugoslavia Janjic's Belgrade attorney has been very active along this line, as has the newspaper of the Serbian Orthodox Church PRAVOSLAVLJE and also individuals in the Belgrade patriarchate, and, as we have said, Janjic's relatives as well.

It has also been written that the lunch in the parish house was not political, that the priest did not abuse religion, and that the event described was a "quiet and modest celebration." It is also added that all this has been invented by a newsman, who was snapping at Nedjo Janjic.

Reactionaries in the world, the Chetniks particularly, are trying very hard to represent Nedjo Janjic as the victim of a persecution of religious officers in Yugoslavia, and they are spreading rumors about supposed restrictions in our country and so on. They even go so far as to refer to the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights and the League for Peace of the United Nations?! The same is being done by the organization Amnesty International, whose membership all over the world is sending out a great number of letters to our authorities out of "humanitarian motives" in which they call for Janjic's pardon, since he is "in prison though blameless." Certain newspapers of the Chetnik-Fascist emigre community are also writing about the "innocent Yugoslav priest." The fact that is "forgotten" in all this, of course, is that the court did not try a priest, but a person who is obviously an inveterate nationalist, a man who

yearns for the specters of the past. In the behavior for which he was tried Janjic betrayed not only his own people, but above all his calling as a priest. So, the insinuations about the "trial of an Orthodox priest" are transparent and untenable.

All this together will not free Nedjo Janjic from serving the prison sentence he deserves. He will not be released, first of all, by the judgment of the people of Romanija and over a broader area. Nor will he be helped, we are certain, even by the fact that he is taking SVIJET to court (either at his own wish or at the instigation of others).

In all of this there are many more arguments for the assertion that Janjic is a pawn in the hands of reactionary forces of recognizable extremists abroad who for years now have tried desperately to frustrate our development. That is why from an epilogue that is clear to us an attempt is being made to fabricate an incident. The attempt to manufacture the incident is continuing even now with the ostentatious collection of money in the circles of the extremist Chetnik emigre community, supposedly for the aid and salvation of Janjic's family. The same is true of the jeremiads and again collecting of "aid" in the ranks of certain clerical nationalists of the Serbian Orthodox Church. There probably should also be a case made on the basis of some sort of "ethnic parity" in criminal prosecution. As though people forget that an enemy of the people and of everything which is most sacred to us is always an enemy and that here there is no "parity," nor will there ever be. Whatever is involved and whatever are the conditions.

And finally, let us return to the beginning of this article: that the convicted person, it turns out, has decided to take us to court. SVIJET is being charged by one who is in prison because of his guilt. The charge is absurd. We are convinced, however, that this absurdity will not be long-lived.

7045

CSO: 2800/350

'ISLAMIC NATIONALISM' OF IMAM DENOUNCED

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 28 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by Dj. Ss.: "The Imam's Label"]

[Text] The working people and citizens of Novi Grad Opstina in Sarajevo vigorously oppose any activity by religious communities outside the religious domain, and recently there have been such attempts.

In Novi Grad Opstina in Sarajevo, as elsewhere in our social community, freedoms exist for religious profession. This is incidentally the result of the democratization of our society, of the positions that we have all adopted together. Religious persons--just like atheists--have all the rights of other citizens as individuals, as members of the Socialist Alliance and as self-managers.

The members of the Presidium of the Novi Grad Opstina SAWP Conference did in fact act in accordance with the fundamental principles in a recent meeting, stating at the same time that the Socialist Alliance is opposed to any form of activity of the religious communities outside the religious domain, since this leads to clericalism. That is, they openly displayed their sensitivity to all attempts at politicization of religion, advocating--exclusively--the freedom proclaimed by the constitution and the basic principles governing relations between the religious communities and society. They also named names in speaking about cases of so-called extrareligious activity (this has unfortunately been manifested in a certain in certain parts of that commune) or abuse of religion.

A serious case was recorded in the Pavle Goranin I Local Community. Here an imam Azem Krupalija maliciously and untruthfully portrayed the situation in our country to children assembled for religious instruction, detracting from the sacred achievements of our society: brotherhood, unity and the cohesiveness of our nationalities and ethnic minorities, socialist self-management ... suggesting to them that they should look for all this in the "world of Islam," that is, in an "Islamic republic." He even went so far as to "put labels" on the children on a religious basis, "condemning" their failure to bear the name of "their own" religion and ethnic community. Those attending the religious instruction themselves fiercely opposed the clericalistic and nationalistic behavior of Azem Krupalija.

There was also discussion at that meeting of certain examples of staying outside the limits of religious activity by other religions in that opstina.

Members of the Presidium of the Novi Grad Opstina Conference of the SAWP are united in condemning these developments, nor are they alone. And they say: they need to be constantly monitored and analyzed so that what is religious is kept separate from what is clericalistic and so that religious people are informed in time as to who at a given moment is playing on their religious sentiments.

7045

CSO: 2800/350

CONCERN VOICED OVER REFUSAL TO DISCLOSE INFORMATION

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Sep 81 p 6

[Article by D. Nikolic: "The Truth Under Attack"]

[Text] In a meeting of the League of Communists of Macedonia Central Committee a few days ago Vaska Duganova cited several unusual examples of "covering up information" and of extraordinary reactions by local authorities to the publication of certain "undesirable information." For example, there was the fierce reaction because TV Skopje published statements by people living in the village Bogorodica to the effect that no one had asked them anything about forming a new opstina. The reaction was not fierce because the people had told the truth, but because what they said had been published. NOVA MAKEDONIJA found itself under "attack" because it had published a question by the delegate from Djevdjelija. The delegate had "only" asked why an award had been made to someone who was being prosecuted on criminal charges. The delegate also found himself under "attack" in that a local court sentenced him to 3 months in prison for putting such a question. The director of the local station in Djevdjelija was called to account only because the local radio station carried the news that in a meeting a question had been put as to whether it would be worthwhile to have discussion in the League of Communists before new opstinas were formed. It was also decided in that no information about these "cases" could be issued by anyone other than the chairman of the Opstina Conference of the League of Communists!

The confinement of information to the limits of a factory or the limits of an opstina is by all appearances a disturbing development which has become rather common. The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia, for example, provides detailed information to opstina party organizations about all its activities, but the information sent in by opstina party organizations consists mainly of formal announcements. If the central committee were to plan its activity on the basis of that information, it would have to conclude that no sort of significant activities are even required because there are no problems whatsoever "in the field."

In many factories the only one "authorized" to issue information is the general director, and sometimes he does not contact newsmen or does so with reluctance. When two BORBA correspondents went to a factory in Skopje to talk with a delegate to the Congress of Self-Managers, the director burst into the office where this conversation had already begun and asked the delegate who had given him permission to make a statement.

BOSNIAN OFFICIAL POLEMICIZES WITH BELGRADE PAPER

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 21 Aug 81 p 3

[Letter of Milan Uzelac, secretary of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic Conference of the SAWP, to Bozidar Bogdanovic, editor in chief and responsible editor of POLITIKA EKSPRES, accompanied by an explanation of the background furnished by OSLOBODJENJE: "Whose Opinion Is Whose?"]

[Text] OSLOBODJENJE Background

Milan Uzelac, secretary of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic Conference of the SAWP, has sent to OSLOBODJENJE a letter addressed to the editor in chief and responsible editor of POLITIKA EKSPRES, asking that our paper publish it since the editors of POLITIKA EKSPRES had refused to publish it.

We want to familiarize readers of OSLOBODJENJE with what preceded this letter of Comrade Uzelac:

i. A commentary by the editor in chief and responsible editor of POLITIKA EKSPRES on 29 July of this year entitled "New Games Concerning Kosovo," in which he mentioned among other things a meeting of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic Conference of the SAWP, putting the question "Why comrades in the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic Conference of the SAWP were expressing doubt that the political leadership teams of the other republics are capable of coordinating the operation of the news media concerning Kosovo and therefore feel that in evaluating their own, they are at the same time called upon to make a judgment of others, making it known to them that their performance is not good and that they ought to copy the quarter from which the criticism is coming?"

ii. Comrade Uzelac responded to this comment or portion of a comment by Bozidar Bogdanovic on behalf of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic Conference of the SAWP. In his letter, which POLITIKA EKSPRES published on 4 August, Milan Uzelac said among other things: "In a meeting on 24 July the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic Conference of the SAWP took up certain topical issues concerning newsgathering concerning the events in Kosovo, its principal purpose being to derive the necessary lessons from those events for the purpose of political action. In that discussion it could not avoid an assessment of the reporting of the events in Kosovo by all the media involved in informing the

population of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In setting forth its assessment of newsgathering the presidium pointed to the need to enhance responsibility for furnishing timely and objective information by people with class and ideological commitment, based on the positions of the League of Communists and the need for all the media to be involved in the fight against the counterrevolution, Albanian nationalism and irredentism, but at the same time the struggle against all nationalism and irredentism, wherever it might be, and first of all in their own respective community. The presidium at the same time expressed critical evaluations concerning some of the stories carried by certain of the media. Allowing for the possibility of a different opinion concerning the assessments, we want to mention that the presidium did not make a distinction between the media on the basis of the republic or autonomous province they belonged to, but that this was done by the commentator, which in fact he did in an impermissible and offensive manner, comparing anyone who disagrees with him to the propaganda machine in Tirana. One must ask what purpose that serves?

We deem it an impermissible act for the Presidium of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Republic Conference of the SAWP to be put in the context of those who are "playing" games with Kosovo, be they old or new, for Yugoslavia to be divided into those who "look on" and "amuse themselves" and those who wage an uncompromising fight against the counterrevolution. In his letter Uzelac also noted that in Bozidar Bogdanovic's comment there is by some strange logic an examination of the question of responsibility for events in Kosovo, both past and present. "The Presidium of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Republic Conference of the SAWP rejects any connection whatsoever between its debate on newsgathering with questions put in that way. Concerning these and other arguments contained in the commentary, especially those which raise the question of the SFRY Constitution, of the accountability of the supreme federal authorities, and of the accountability of the republics and provinces, when and if they are debated, we will present our views in the appropriate place," Milan Uzelac says *inter alia* in his first letter.

111. In publishing this letter POLITIKA EKSPRES immediately added its own comment, which we give in its entirety:

"The only reason why we have published the letter above is that Comrade Uzelac has taken the liberty to speak on behalf of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Republic Conference of the SAWP.

"In any case, Comrade Uzelac's explanation and arguments are not on a level which would make a worthwhile dialogue possible. Especially since the purpose of the commentary entitled 'New Games Concerning Kosovo' was not to open up polemics with the personal opinions or peripheral responses, but to indicate the current political digression, which can be corrected only by a thorough analysis of the causes and by an open-minded facing of the truth."

This kind of comment by POLITIKA EKSPRES accompanying Comrade Uzelac's first letter motivated and obliged him to make another statement. However, as we said at the outset, POLITIKA EKSPRES, after holding the letter in the editorial office for 10 days, let it be known that it would not publish it, and we are therefore publishing it in today's issue.

Letter From Uzelac to Bogdanovic

I am grateful that on 4 August of this year you published in the newspaper POLITIKA EKSPRES a letter which I sent concerning your comment entitled "New Games Concerning Kosovo," and I also read the brief comment concerning my letter. In that connection I must write once again and state the following:

1. I was not presenting my personal opinion. The positions presented in my letter to the newspaper POLITIKA EKSPRES are the positions of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Republic Conference of the SAWP, and I therefore signed it as the secretary of that presidium.
2. We did not favor, and we do not now favor the opening up of polemics in the press with personal or any other opinions. You state, however, that you would not have published my letter if I had not "taken the liberty to speak on behalf of the Presidium of the SAWP Republic Conference." Does that mean that only your personal opinion can be published in your newspaper?
3. If as you say the "purpose of the commentary entitled 'New Games Concerning Kosovo' was not to open up polemics with personal opinions," why is it, then, that you publish your personal opinion? And if that is not merely your personal opinion, it would be honest, so long as you are publishing it, to state whose opinion it is. Since it is a question of serious assertions and dangerous arguments which you have presented in your commentary and which encourage quite definite ideological and political dispositions and enflame extremely harmful and dangerous passions, we feel that the place for them to be debated is first of all in the sociopolitical organizations and appropriate institutions of our system. I must state in conclusion that however indispensable it is to carry on polemics with your positions, it is yet impossible to do so because of the tone of arrogance, insult and conceited inviolability making up the substance of the text with which you accompanied the publication of my letter.

7045

CSO: 2800/351

END

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

6 OCT 1981